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FROM A LITHOGRAPH BY GROZELIER, 1854.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

MEMORIAL

OF

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

A

MEMORIAL

OF

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

FROM THE

CITY OF BOSTON.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL.
MDCCCLXXXVI.

Press of
Rockwell & Churchill
Boston
Mass.

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, May 20, 1886.

Ordered, That the Clerk of Committees be directed to prepare, under the direction of the Committee on Printing, a suitable memorial of the Garrison statue and of the circumstances under which it is presented; the expense, not to exceed seven hundred and fifty dollars, to be charged to the appropriation for Printing.

Passed. Sent up for concurrence.
In Board of Aldermen, May 24, 1886. Concurred.
Approved by the Mayor, May 25, 1886.

A true copy.

Attest:

JOHN T. PRIEST,
Asst. City Clerk.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

History of the Garrison Statue 11

Message from His Honor the Mayor 12, 15

Communication from the Committee of Citizens 12

Action of the Common Council 16

Remarks of William O. Armstrong, of Ward 9 16

Remarks of William H. Whitmore, of Ward 12 18

Description of the Garrison Statue 23

Sonnet 26

Biographical Sketch of William Lloyd Garrison 27

ACTION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

HISTORY OF THE GARRISON STATUE.

William Lloyd Garrison died in the city of New York, on the 24th day of May, 1879. Although not a Bostonian by the accident of birth, our city became his home at an early stage of his career, and he will always be esteemed one of Boston's remarkable men; for here the greater portion of his life was spent, and here his most prominent labors in the cause of universal liberty and emancipation were carried on.

It would seem, therefore, but natural that his fellow-citizens of Boston should desire to rear before the eyes of the public a statue of Garrison, that might serve alike to keep him and the noble results of his self-sacrificing life-work in lasting remembrance.

Actuated by this motive, a committee, composed of leading citizens, have, through their own efforts and contributions, procured and presented to the city of Boston the fine statue of Garrison that now graces the square of Commonwealth avenue, lying between Dartmouth and Exeter streets. The statue is of bronze, and is the work of Olin L. Warner, of New York, and was placed in position on the 13th day of May, 1886. No formal ceremonies were observed on the erection of the statue or in presenting it to the city; but the history of the statue from its inception is indicated in the accompanying communication from the Statue Committee, forwarded to His Honor the Mayor, and by him transmitted to the City Council immediately after the statue was put in place: —

MESSAGE FROM HIS HONOR THE MAYOR AND COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMITTEE OF CITIZENS.

City of Boston,

Executive Department, May 17, 1886.

To the Honorable the City Council: —

I have the honor to transmit herewith a communication, the receipt of which I have already acknowledged, from Messrs. Samuel C. Cobb, William Endicott, Jr., and Stanton Blake, presenting to the city, in behalf of the citizens who furnished the means for its erection, a statue of William Lloyd Garrison. This beautiful gift, which will always recall the memory of a noble citizen, philanthropist, and patriot, I feel sure is one that every Bostonian will look upon with pride and gratitude.

I think the communication should be printed in our official records.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH O'BRIEN,

Mayor.

Boston, May 13, 1886.

His Honor Hugh O'Brien, *Mayor of Boston:* —

The undersigned, in behalf of the citizens who furnished the means for erecting a memorial to William Lloyd Gar-

rison, have the honor to present to the city of Boston the bronze statue which has been placed on Commonwealth avenue, between Dartmouth and Exeter streets.

The purpose which led to the establishment of this memorial was first formed on the 18th of June, 1879, at a meeting which was attended by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, John C. Phillips, George Baty Blake, William I. Bowditch, Henry P. Kidder, Samuel C. Cobb, Richard P. Hallowell, and Edward T. May; and at which a committee,[1] consisting of Henry P. Kidder, Martin Brimmer, John M. Forbes, Henry L. Pierce, Henry Lee, Samuel C. Cobb, John C. Phillips, George Baty Blake, and William Endicott, Jr., was appointed to raise money.

In an appeal to the public, prepared by Wendell Phillips, which was subsequently published by this committee in the daily press, it was stated that "they feel that the memory of such a life, of great abilities so bravely and unselfishly devoted to the defence of justice and humanity, of such inexhaustible patience and courage in persevering against obstacles almost insurmountable, and of such complete success, wrung from bitter opposition, without the sacrifice of principle or accepting dishonorable aid, is a rich inheritance." "The city honors itself when it offers such a career the tribute of admiration, respect, and gratitude, and we should hold it up in some form as an example and inspiration to coming time."

---

[1] Samuel C. Cobb was chosen chairman of the committee, and George Baty Blake, treasurer. Upon the death of Mr. Blake the treasurership was assumed by his brother, Stanton Blake.

It was at first proposed that the memorial should take the form of a building for the school at Hampton, Va., under the charge of General S. C. Armstrong; but the contributions were insufficient for that purpose, and it was finally decided to procure a statue, and place it in some conspicuous position in this city.

With that view a number of the leading artists were requested to furnish models and proposals. From those submitted the committee unanimously selected the design of Olin L. Warner, of New York, and a contract was made with him for putting it in bronze. The pedestal bears the following inscriptions: On the front, or east side, "William Lloyd Garrison." On the reverse, or west side, "1805–1879." On the north side, "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." On the south side, "My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind."

The work of the distinguished artist is worthy of the subject. It represents one of the foremost figures in that long struggle to make good the principles of the Declaration of Independence, by establishing liberty throughout the land. It is the embodiment of a high purpose, nobly achieved by a life of toil and self-sacrifice.

No one of the distinguished men whose effigies ennoble and adorn our public grounds has left the record of a purer life, or one which teaches a more inspiring lesson to the people of this country.

In placing their names to this communication the surviving members of the original committee of citizens recall with profound sorrow the changes which have

taken place in the membership of the organization first formed to carry out this work.

Of the little company which, less than seven years ago, met to do honor to the memory of William Lloyd Garrison, five have died, — Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, George Baty Blake, John C. Phillips, and Henry P. Kidder, — the last three, members of the executive committee.

It may be truly said of them, in the simple and impressive words of the Great Preacher, "All these were honored in their generations."

SAMUEL C. COBB,
WM. ENDICOTT, Jr.,
STANTON BLAKE.

To the above His Honor the Mayor replied as follows : —

City of Boston,

Executive Department, May 13, 1886.

Messrs. Samuel C. Cobb, William Endicott, Jr., and Stanton Blake : —

Gentlemen, — Your communication, presenting, on behalf of the citizens whose means contributed to its erection, the bronze statue of William Lloyd Garrison, which has been placed on Commonwealth avenue, has been received.

I deem the communication of sufficient importance to

send to the City Council, and have it placed upon the records of the city.

William Lloyd Garrison should be remembered for all time in a city where most of his life was devoted to human rights, without distinction of color or race.

Thanking you and your committee for the noble work you have done in presenting to the city a memorial of one of her most distinguished citizens,

I remain, yours truly,

HUGH O'BRIEN,
Mayor.

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN, May 17, 1886.

On motion of Alderman HART, ordered to be printed and sent down.

ACTION OF THE COMMON COUNCIL, MAY 20, 1886.

THE GARRISON MEMORIAL.

The Mayor's message, transmitting a communication from Samuel C. Cobb, William Endicott, Jr., and Stanton Blake, presenting to the city a statue of William Lloyd Garrison.

The question was on placing on file.

Mr. ARMSTRONG, of Ward 9, said: —

Mr. President, — This is an occasion when I deem it fitting that I should say a few words; I feel that I should

be recreant to every instinct of genuine manhood were I to remain silent at this time, when a gift of such munificence has been made to the city of Boston by its public-spirited citizens in honor of one of its most lamented sons. I refer to the statue recently erected on Commonwealth avenue of William Lloyd Garrison. Mr. President, if we refer to the incidents of 1835, we shall be reminded that Mr. Garrison was compelled to seek safety in flight from the fury of the mob who clamored for his life, for proclaiming that every man is born free and equal, and entitled to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, be he either black or white. At that time such declarations were very unpopular; the citizens of Boston had become so subservient to the exactions of the slave power that they were willing to comply with every demand; but, sir, the indomitable will never flagged, the unflinching courage never faltered, the ringing appeal for justice and humanity never ceased, and, with a determination that knew no fear, he continued to hurl his thunderbolts of denunciation against the great wrong until the public conscience was aroused. Then commenced the beginning of the end; baptized in a sea of blood, the nation rid itself of the cancer that was eating out its very life. But, sir, what is the sentiment of 1886? The change in public opinion is wonderful. How true were the words of Dr. Watts, when he said: —

> "God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform!"

But for Garrison, and a few others who believed that slavery was wrong and condemned it in unmeasured

terms, this country would to-day undoubtedly be groaning under the sin of this inhuman bondage.

I feel that I voice the sentiments of six millions or more of colored people when I say we believe he was divinely inspired and divinely appointed to preach deliverance to the down-trodden slave. Mr. President, as an evidence how faithfully and well he performed his work, that ever silent, yet ever-speaking bronze statue on yonder Commonwealth avenue will forever testify; and, as a representative of that people whose cause he so nobly championed, it is my duty and happy privilege to thank the citizens of Boston for this most fitting testimonial.

The communication was placed on file.

In connection with the foregoing Mr. Whitmore offered an order: That the clerk of committees be directed to prepare, under the direction of the Committee on Printing, a suitable memorial of the Garrison statue, and of the circumstances under which it is presented; the expense, not to exceed $1,000, to be charged to the appropriation for Printing.

Mr. Whitmore, of Ward 12, said: —

I put it in this form because I think that, from a mistaken idea, the donors of the statue have made no public certification of the fact. There have been none of the usual proceedings, no formal reception, no oration, as might have been desired on the occasion. And, sir, I desire that a suitable volume shall be prepared, — a small one, of course, because there now exists an admirable,

though rather expensive, biography of Mr. Garrison. It seems to me that no better text-book can be given to the youth of this city than a brief sketch of the glorious life of Mr. Garrison. It seems to me his was a life with which the school-boys of Boston should be familiar. I think that a small sketch of his life should be prepared, with a heliotype view of the statue, so that those living in other places can see what kind of a testimonial the city of Boston rears to one of its honored citizens. For that reason I have offered this order, and I move a suspension of the rule, so that it may be passed this evening.

The order was amended by making the amount $750, and as amended was passed, under a suspension of the rule.

Mr. Whitmore moved to reconsider; lost.

Sent up.

GARRISON

DESCRIPTION OF THE STATUE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STATUE.

The statue is of bronze, and is a seated figure, representing Garrison as he appeared at about the age of sixty-three, or soon after the close of the war of the Rebellion. The right hand, which grasps a roll of manuscript, rests upon the right knee; the left foot is pushed forward in an easy position, and the left hand rests upon the arm of the chair. For decorative effect an overcoat is thrown over the chair, the skirts hanging down in front, while the upper part of the garment falls over the left arm of the chair. Beneath the chair are an inkstand, quills, and other writing implements, while beside them is a bound volume of the *Liberator*. The sculptor has endeavored to portray a man of intellectual force and resolute convictions; of tremendous will-power and dauntless purpose; a writer in whose hands the pen was wielded like a sword; but all this softened by the influence of age. The statue itself is a little more than what is known as colossal in size, being seven feet in height, and weighing two thousand six hundred pounds. It was modelled by Olin M. Warner, of New York, who took for his portrait the mask taken from Garrison's face by John Rogers, of New York, at the time stated above. The casting was the work of the Decorative Bronze Company, of New York. The pedestal is of Quincy granite, executed from designs by McKim, Mead, and White, architects, of New York, and is seven feet in height, including three steps leading from the ground to the main die. The inscriptions upon the

die are the following: On the front, or east side, "William Lloyd Garrison." On the reverse, or west side, "1805–1879." On the north side, "I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." On the south side, "My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind." It was hoped to have the statue in place on October 21, 1885, the fiftieth anniversary of the Boston mob of 1835, of which Garrison was the victim; but, owing to unforeseen delays in the casting, the work of setting it in position was not completed until May 13, 1886, and it was then presented to the city.

SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Whether a persecuted child of thine
Thou deign to own, my lovely native place!
In characters that time cannot efface,
Thy worth is graved upon this heart of mine.
Forsake me not in anger, nor repine
That with this nation I am in disgrace:
From ruthless bondage to redeem my race,
And save my country, is my great design.
How much soe'er my conduct thou dost blame
(For Hate and Calumny belie my course),
My labors shall not sully thy fair fame;
But they shall be to thee a fountain-source
Of joyfulness hereafter — when my name
Shall e'en from tyrants a high tribute force.

— *William Lloyd Garrison to his Birthplace (Newburyport, Mass.)*, 1834.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

William Lloyd Garrison was not born in Boston, nor did it happen to him to die in this city. It was, however, his home for two-thirds of his long life; no native loved it more dearly; and more, perhaps, than any one connected with its history he confirmed and widened its reputation as the philanthropic focus of the country. He came to it a needy type-setter, friendless and obscure. The notoriety and influence which he acquired as an agitator were opposed to the sentiments and immediate pecuniary interests of the ruling classes — the so-called respectability — of Boston. To them he appeared a vulgar and fanatical intruder, tarnishing the fair fame of the city and injuring its Southern trade; and when they mobbed him, in the vain effort to silence his propaganda, there was no consideration of wealth, or education, or lineage that could plead with them on his behalf.

His parents were humble folk, natives of the province of New Brunswick. The father, Abijah Garrison, was a sea-captain, born on the St. John River, of a Massachusetts mother,— a man of a generous and social nature, a sanguine temperament, a considerable gift of literary expression; but, being given to drink, his own worst enemy. The mother, Fanny Lloyd, possessed exceptional physical beauty and strength and elevation of character, forfeiting

home and parental affection rather than abandon the Baptist faith, to which she early became a convert. In the year 1805 this couple removed from Nova Scotia to Newburyport, Mass., and here their son William was born, on December 10.

The slender circumstances of the family were shortly reduced to poverty and dependence when the father abandoned it, for causes unknown, but supposed to relate to his intemperance. The mother, with her three children, was forced to migrate in search of employment as a nurse, and settled first in Lynn and afterwards in Baltimore, where she died, after years of great bodily suffering, in 1823. But Lloyd could not be happy away from his birthplace, where kind, if indigent, friends gave him a home and a chance to get a limited education at the grammar school. He had proved too slight for the shoemaker's trade in Lynn, and the cabinet-maker's in Haverhill he did not like and ran away from. A happy fate, in 1818, provided an apprenticeship in the office of the Newburyport *Herald*, and the boy not only soon mastered the printer's art and became the foreman of the establishment, but presently began to write anonymously for the paper, and to have the joy of seeing his articles accepted. When his secret was found out, he was encouraged and befriended by Caleb Cushing, the temporary editor of the *Herald*, and exercised his pen on a great variety of topics, sentimental and political.

In 1826, at the close of his apprenticeship, the young Garrison bought, of Isaac Knapp, the (Newburyport) *Essex Courant*, and continued it under the name of the *Free Press*, justifying the new title by a programme of

editorial independence from which he never deviated throughout his career. He gave hospitality in its columns to the first poetical productions of Whittier, whose shy genius he detected, and whom he sought out and urged to devote himself to literature. As yet Garrison had published nothing in verse himself, and he never approached the level of his friend, the Quaker poet of humanity. But the poetic impulse was always strong in him, and the total number of his pieces (in which the sonnet form predominates) is very considerable. In the *Free Press* he showed already a capacity to be touched by the wrongs of the slave; but his preoccupation at this time was political rather than reformatory. Towards the end of the year he relinquished the newspaper, which had not prospered, and went to Boston, where, for several months, he earned his living as a compositor at the case in various offices. Meanwhile, he followed with eager interest the doings of the National Republican (Federal) party, with which he was in full sympathy; and in July, 1827, attended a caucus to nominate a successor to Daniel Webster in the House of Representatives. Rising to speak out of the regular time, he made so strong a plea in favor of Harrison Gray Otis that the managers were disconcerted, and were forced to adjourn the caucus in order to avoid a nomination that was distasteful to them. This interference, by a new-comer of low degree, was resented by a writer in the Boston *Courier*, to whom Mr. Garrison retorted, in the same paper: —

> I sympathize with the gentleman in the difficulty which he found to learn my cognomination. It is true that my acquaintance in this city is limited — I have sought for none. Let me assure him, however, that, if

my life be spared, my name shall one day be known to the world, — at least to such extent that common inquiry shall be unnecessary. This, I know, will be deemed excessive vanity — but time shall prove it prophetic.

The way to the fulfilment of this prophecy led him to take lodgings with the Rev. William Collier, a Baptist city missionary, who had founded and was conducting the *National Philanthropist* — the first paper in the world chiefly devoted to the cause of temperance, and advocating total abstinence. Of this journal Mr. Garrison became the editor in January, 1828, and infused much vigor into it and the temperance enterprise. But his life-work was not to lie in that direction, though he ever remained true to the principles of a cause to which the sad experience of his father and his only brother would have sufficed to attach him. Among the transient boarders at Mr. Collier's house came, in March, 1828, Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker (born in 1789), editor in Baltimore of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* He was almost the first (and was now the only) American dedicated exclusively to the abolition of slavery, with a perseverance and self-abnegation beyond all praise. Outside of him, his journal, and its few supporters, there was no anti-slavery life or movement in the whole country, which lay dead to all humane instincts, so far as slavery was concerned, in the smothering embrace of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Though his person was insignificant and he was a poor speaker, being deaf, his earnestness and the goodness of his cause won him many converts in private, wherever his unwearied pedestrianism carried him. His visit to Boston proved a sore disappointment in its imme-

diate aim,— the enlisting of the clergy in the anti-slavery agitation; but in Mr. Garrison a youthful disciple was obtained who was worth them all.

Still, the latter had not yet lost his interest in politics, and accepted an invitation from the National Republicans of Bennington, Vt., to edit a new paper there in behalf of the candidacy of John Quincy Adams for reëlection to the Presidency. The first number of the *Journal of the Times* was issued in October, 1828, and Mr. Garrison's salutatory gave evidence of his intention to use freely the liberty accorded him in his engagement, of advocating "the suppression of intemperance and its associate vices, the gradual emancipation of every slave in the republic, and the perpetuity of national peace"— three objects, the editor said, "which we shall pursue through life, whether in this place or elsewhere." He began at once to give practical effect to his anti-slavery doctrine, by coöperating with Lundy for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and the latter, who eagerly watched the *Journal of the Times*, at last walked from Baltimore to Bennington to entreat him to become an associate editor of the *Genius*. The appeal was successful, and at the end of his contract, in March, 1829, Mr. Garrison bade good-by to his Green Mountain public, "to occupy a broader field, and to engage in a higher enterprise."

Pending Lundy's absence in Hayti he returned to Boston, and received in June an invitation to deliver a Fourth of July address at Park-Street Church, under the auspices of the Congregational societies of the city, and in behalf of the American Colonization Society. This society had been founded ostensibly to improve the con-

dition (otherwise hopeless, it was alleged) of the free blacks, by exporting them to Liberia, along with such slaves as might be emancipated for the purpose. Slaveholders were among its founders and officers, and slaveholding was no bar to membership. When collecting funds abroad, great stress was laid upon its being an emancipation society; at home, any intention to meddle with the system of slavery was carefully disclaimed. Of all this Mr. Garrison was ignorant, and in fact he had very little to say about the society in his discourse, while dwelling forcibly upon the enormities of slavery, the national disgrace and peril of it, and the duty of the free States to assist in its overthrow.

From gradual emancipation Mr. Garrison's mind had worked its way, before setting out for Baltimore, to immediate and unconditional emancipation as the only vital measure of reform. He frankly compared views with Lundy, a gradualist, on joining him, and it was agreed that each should sign his articles in the *Genius*, and urge the common end in his own way. The result was, that many of the subscribers to the paper were greatly disturbed by the new doctrine, and that the list began rapidly to fall off, in spite of all Lundy's efforts to replenish it. In November, 1829, the partnership and the paper received a fatal blow. A Newburyport merchant, Francis Todd, had allowed one of his ships to convey a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans, and this circumstance filled his townsman with indignation and horror. Mr. Garrison used the *Genius* to denounce the domestic slave-trade, of which this was an example, and "to illustrate New England humanity and morality." "I am re-

solved," he said, "to cover with thick infamy all who were concerned in this nefarious business." A civil suit for damages was, in consequence, begun by Mr. Todd; but Mr. Garrison was first tried on an indictment for libel by the Baltimore Grand Jury, and, having been convicted, was sent to jail, on April 17, 1830, in default of a fine and costs exceeding one hundred dollars.

So far from being cast down by this first experience of the spirit of slavery, Garrison's buoyancy and mental activity were never greater than in the forty-nine days of his imprisonment. He interested himself in the cases of his fellow-inmates; he rebuked slave-holders coming to the jail to reclaim fugitives; he composed anti-slavery addresses, and verses of which the following sonnet is in his best vein, and well illustrates the exaltation of his mood: —

FREEDOM OF THE MIND.

High walls and huge the BODY may confine,
And iron grates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns th' immortal MIND this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell enclose:
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount; from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours;
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And, in its watches, wearies every star!

More than this, he wrote letters to the Boston *Courier*

and the Newburyport *Herald*, by which his fate, as an American citizen denied the freedom of speech, was widely published, and excited both indignation and sympathy. The report of his trial moved Arthur Tappan, in particular, a princely merchant philanthropist of New York, to offer to pay Mr. Garrison's fine and to help reëstablish the *Genius*. On June 5, 1830, Lundy's partner was accordingly released; but a visit to Massachusetts to raise funds for the *Genius* proved unavailing, and Mr. Garrison projected a paper of his own, to be published in Washington. He returned once more to Massachusetts, lecturing on slavery by the way to mixed audiences, and October found him in Boston, endeavoring in vain to secure the free use of a church or hall for a course of lectures on the same subject. An infidel society at length tendered him Julien Hall, formerly standing on the northwest corner of Milk and Congress Streets, and there, on October 15, Mr. Garrison delivered his first discourse, having among his auditors Dr. Lyman Beecher, Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, Rev. Samuel J. May, A. Bronson Alcott, and Samuel E. Sewall. His remarks, which were particularly directed against the Colonization Society, powerfully affected Mr. May and his kinsmen, Messrs. Sewall and Alcott, and they at once attached themselves to the speaker, who gave three subsequent lectures in the same hall and elsewhere.

The support of Messrs. May and Sewall was the turning-point in Garrison's career. It encouraged him to abandon his design of going to Washington to establish a paper which was more needed at the North,

and he thereupon formed a partnership with his townsman, Isaac Knapp (who had lately rejoined him in Baltimore), to issue a weekly paper, called the *Liberator*. This tiny sheet, with its 14 × 9 printed page, was put forth on January 1, 1831, without a subscriber, in borrowed type, and was set by the partners (in hours snatched from journeyman's work by which they got their living), worked off on the press and mailed by them. They were determined, as they announced, to print the paper as long as they could subsist upon bread and water, or their hands obtain employment. The office was in Merchants' Hall, on the northeast corner of Congress and Water Streets, was bare and dingy, and served as a lodging for Garrison and Knapp. The motto of the *Liberator* was Mr. Garrison's own: "Our Country is the World, Our Countrymen are Mankind."[1]

His salutatory read as follows: —

TO THE PUBLIC.

In the month of August I issued proposals for publishing "The Liberator," in Washington City; but the enterprise, though hailed in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* to the Seat of Government has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in

[1] Subsequently given the form in which it appears on the pedestal of the statue on Commonwealth Avenue.

public sentiment was to be effected in the free States — *and particularly in New England* — than at the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave-owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birthplace of liberty.* That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe — yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let Southern oppressors tremble — let their secret abettors tremble — let their Northern apologists tremble — let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights — among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park-Street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of *gradual* abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren, the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice, and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house

is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; — but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true.* On this question my influence, — humble as it is, — is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years — not perniciously, but beneficially — not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare," and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power. And here I close with this fresh dedication: —

"Oppression! I have seen thee face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now —
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel — but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base: —
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalizing sway — till Afric's chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land, —
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take — SO HELP ME GOD!"

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, January 1, 1831.

Language like this, and a pictorial heading (adopted in

the seventeenth number) which showed a slave auction in Washington,— negroes and horses being sold promiscuously from the same block,— made the *Liberator* a very alarming paper for Southern circulation, whether by chance or otherwise. Mr. Garrison distinctly avowed, nevertheless, a purely moral and pacific warfare, addressed not to the violent passions of slaves stimulated to revolt, but to the consciences of the masters, and especially of the citizens of the free States, involved under the Constitution in the guilt of slavery. But the South took no notice of such distinctions, and called upon the North to suppress the *Liberator* and its editor, as promoting slave insurrections. Menaces were freely sent him through the mails; his extradition was sought, on the indictment of Southern grand juries; the Governor of South Carolina sent to the Legislature copies of the *Liberator* and of an address to the free people of color, delivered by Mr. Garrison in June in many cities of the North, and reported that the constituted authorities of Boston had declared their inability to interfere with the paper or the agitation. Harrison Gray Otis, the then Mayor, had, at the request of ex-Senator Hayne, ferreted out the office of the *Liberator*, through his police, who described it as "an obscure hole," containing the editor and a negro boy, "his only visible auxiliary," while his supporters were "a very few insignificant persons of all colors." The Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia, in August, 1831, terrified the South beyond measure, and led to numberless precautions to keep out the new "incendiary" literature. In December the Legislature of Georgia offered a reward of $5,000 for the apprehension

and conviction of the editor or publisher of the *Liberator*, — a direct incentive to kidnapping.

The *Liberator*, however, had taken root,— thanks to the generosity of a handful of new-made friends, who supplied its deficit, and enabled the editor to make an occasional journey in behalf of the cause. Garrison's next care was to organize societies upon the principle of immediate emancipation, and to make a beginning in Boston. This seemed hazardous, even to those who were sustaining the *Liberator*, and it was with the utmost difficulty that twelve men were found ready to form a New England (afterwards the Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society. This vital event took place in the colored church on Belknap (now Joy) Street, in January, 1832, and out of it grew, in a few years, a host of similar organizations all over the free States. The work of agitation by tracts and public addresses was now systematically begun, Mr. Garrison himself being among the first to take the field as a lecturing agent of the new society. But his principal task this year was an elaborate exposure of the Colonization Society, in a thick pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on African Colonization," and mainly composed of extracts from the Society's official reports and speeches. For the means to issue this, Mr. Garrison was especially indebted to Arthur Tappan and to Isaac Winslow, of Portland. The work produced a profound impression, for it struck at a pseudo-charity which stood in high favor with the churches, and regularly levied upon them for its revenue. It opened the eyes of hundreds of well-meaning and influential men, sincerely opposed to slavery, whose consciences the Society had lulled, and drew them irre-

sistibly to the side of Mr. Garrison. It stimulated debate in the theological societies, and caused disruption in some. The general result was to cripple and discredit the Colonization Society, and to remove it out of the way of the genuine movement against slavery. Garrison rightly regarded this as the first step towards emancipation, and, in fact, wherever the Society held its adherents most tenaciously, there the abolitionists encountered either the greatest apathy or the greatest resistance.

One of the colonization strongholds was New Haven, and in September, 1831, a town meeting, called by the mayor and aldermen, with the support of all the leading citizens, excitedly pledged the city to resist any attempt to establish there a Manual-Labor College for colored youth, as had been contemplated by the Rev. S. S. Jocelyn and Arthur Tappan, of course with Mr. Garrison's cordial approval. The project was not given over after the rebuff at New Haven, and it was resolved to send Mr. Garrison to England to raise additional funds for it. It was also desirable that, being there, he should head off Elliott Cresson, a Quaker emissary of the Colonization Society, engaged in raising money by misrepresenting the attitude of that body towards slavery. Strenuous efforts were made by its agents to detain and arrest Mr. Garrison, and he had even to elude supposed Southern kidnappers on behalf of Georgia; but he succeeded in sailing in May, 1833, and landed safely in England.

Here he was very cordially received by James Cropper and the other leading English abolitionists, who were just achieving the passage of the act of West India Emancipation through Parliament. He had interviews

with Wilberforce, Clarkson (whom Cresson had hoodwinked), and Buxton (who had supposed Mr. Garrison a black man, because of the fervor with which he had advocated a cause not his own), and secured the friendship of Daniel O'Connell. He was advised that nothing could be done at that time for the Manual-Labor School, and he devoted all his energies to the discomfiture of Cresson, who refused to meet him in debate, and whom he showed up in great meetings in Exeter Hall and in other places. This done, and having taken part in the public burial of Wilberforce in Westminster Abbey, he returned to America.

His arrival in New York was the signal for a mob, incited by the colonization and pro-slavery press, using as a pretext his denunciation abroad of his country's guilt in slaveholding. The rioters vented themselves on the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, which happened just then to be forming, and Mr. Garrison moved among them as an eye-witness, unknown and unmolested. In Boston a similar reception was prepared for him by placards; but his adopted city was not yet ripe for violence towards him.

In December, 1833, the anti-slavery organization was completed by the formation at Philadelphia of an American Anti-Slavery Society, composed of delegates from nearly all the free States. Mr. Garrison was given the task of drawing up the Declaration of Sentiments, which placed the agitation on a non-resistant basis; that is, it counselled submission on the part of the slave until his deliverance should be wrought by moral instrumentali-

ties. Comparing the abolitionists with the Revolutionary fathers, it said: —

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

Their measures were physical resistance, the marshalling in arms, the hostile array, the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

In regard to the legal scope of the agitation the Declaration had these passages: —

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this momentous subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at

any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger; IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

The officers of the American Society had their headquarters in New York, and exhibited remarkable activity in multiplying and circulating anti-slavery documents of every description.

Mr. Garrison was married in September, 1834, to Helen Eliza Benson, daughter of George Benson, a venerable philanthropist, one of the Rhode Island abolitionists of the last century, whose home was now in Brooklyn, Conn. A few weeks afterwards they had for their guest, in Roxbury, George Thompson, an Englishman of his own age and station whom Mr. Garrison had met while abroad. He was an orator of unsurpassed eloquence, who had rendered the greatest services in creating the popular demand for West India emancipation. Mr. Garrison, desiring to make use of such talents in the kindred cause on this side of the water, had invited him to come over, which he did, bringing his family with him. His arguments and methods were precisely those of the American abolitionists, — drawn on the one hand from the Bible, on the other from the Declaration of Independence. He, too, abhorred insurrection as a means of freedom. Nevertheless, the fact that he was a foreigner, and that slavery was a great political question in the United States,

roused public indignation against him, and led to mobs in many parts of New England, where his labors first began. However, in other places he was well received, speaking from many pulpits, and he was of the greatest assistance in causing new societies to be formed, and the *Liberator* (which was in desperate straits) to be sustained.

Thompson's appearance, and the renewed evidence of the strength of the abolition organization, thoroughly alarmed the South, and provoked meetings in which the North was solemnly entreated to arrest the blood-thirsty wretches who were planning a new San Domingo on American soil, with the aid of foreign interlopers. Documents from the New York anti-slavery press, though never addressed to the slaves, were found in the Southern mails; and in Charleston, on July 29, 1835, the post-office was broken open, the mails overhauled, and the obnoxious tracts and periodicals burnt in a bonfire, together with effigies of Tappan and Garrison. A meeting of the citizens of Richmond, shortly afterward, on August 4, made a fresh appeal against the Northern fanatics, and touched the sympathy of the respectable classes of Boston. These, headed by the Mayor, Theodore Lyman, Jr., held in Faneuil Hall, on August 21, a great meeting, which had been called by fifteen hundred citizens, largely of the mercantile class, who saw their trade with the South imperilled. The principal speeches were made by Peleg (afterwards Judge) Sprague, and by Harrison Gray Otis, who never spoke in public again. Their remarks were highly condemnatory of those who were (as they alleged) using Boston as a basis of attack on the peace and security of the South, and Mr. Sprague's were especially directed

against George Thompson as a foreign emissary and professed agitator.

Great numbers of Southerners had gathered to attend the meeting, and the feeling of the citizens generally was such that Mr. Garrison prudently withdrew to Brooklyn, Conn., from which place he sent trenchant reviews of the Faneuil-Hall speeches to the *Liberator*. When he returned, calm had apparently been restored; but, on the announcement that Thompson would address an anniversary meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the mob spirit fiercely revived, and its vengeance fell by proxy upon the editor of the *Liberator*. The details of the riot on October 21, 1835, by "gentlemen of property and standing," must be sought in the recently published "Life of Garrison," and in Colonel Lyman's pamphlet on the Garrison Mob. The victim was advised by Mayor Lyman to leave the anti-slavery office (on Washington Street, below State Street), in which he could not be protected; was discovered and seized by the mob on Wilson's Lane (now Devonshire Street), roughly handled, and marched with a rope about his body past the lower end of the Old State House (then the City Hall), the plan being to take him to the Common and tar and feather him. By great exertion the Mayor and his aids got Mr. Garrison into the building through the south door, and presently, by a ruse, took him from the north door into a carriage in waiting, and drove him to the city jail, on Leverett Street. This was a most perilous undertaking, and barely succeeded; for the mob endeavored to overturn the carriage and to cut the traces, and pursued hotly up to the very doors of the jail, where Mr. Garrison, whose

demeanor had been perfectly calm and self-possessed, was committed as a rioter, and passed a tranquil night, though with a natural anxiety on account of his wife. The next day he secretly left the city, in which the mob had produced the usual number of converts to the doctrines they were striving to suppress; but Thompson was obliged to flee the country.

The reign of terror, of which this was a single incident, reached its climax in 1837, when the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was mobbed to death in Alton, Ill., for editing an anti-slavery newspaper. Mr. Garrison himself was never afterwards personally attacked, though often, in common with his colleagues, in extreme danger, as at the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, in 1838. His measured language, his shining purity of motive, his moral earnestness, were all calculated to convince, rather than to excite the spirit of violence. In the period which followed the Boston mob his contention was more immediately with his own abolition household. Seeds of dissension had here been sown by clergymen to whom Mr. Garrison's "harsh language" and controlling influence were irksome, and who, at length, joined in a Clerical Appeal against the conduct of the *Liberator*, while it was temporarily in the hands of his friend, Oliver Johnson (one of the founders of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society). The controversy gradually involved Mr. Garrison's views upon the Sabbath (which were substantially those held by the Quakers), and upon the nature of human governments as tested by the requirements of Christianity ; he holding that, as they were all based on violence, they were opposed to the spirit of the Gospel,

and must ultimately be superseded. These views were censured as if they were identical with the doctrine of our latter-day dynamite anarchists; and, in spite of their irrelevancy to Mr. Garrison's abolitionism, were made the ground of an attempt to depose him from the anti-slavery leadership, to put the agitation in the hands of the orthodox clergy, and to set up a sectarian organ which should leave no room for the *Liberator*. The new organ was actually founded; but a new and rival Massachusetts Abolition Society, under clerical auspices, had to be created at the same time, which must have had a brief existence but for its gaining the sympathy of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York.

In May, 1840, a breach was effected in the ranks of the abolitionists at large by the differences between this Executive Committee and the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or, in other words, Mr. Garrison and his friends. The causes which led up to it were complex. In brief, it was a trial of strength between those who held that the only test of abolitionism was adherence to the doctrine of immediatism, and those who maintained that orthodoxy was equally a test; between those who, like Mr. Garrison, insisted on the right of women to take part, on an equal footing with men, in the proceedings and direction of anti-slavery meetings and societies, and those who denied this right, as being unscriptural and subversive of the natural subordination of the sexes; finally, between those who declared that every abolitionist ought to vote at the polls, and for an anti-slavery candidate, and those who, with Mr. Garrison, regarded voting as a means

within the option of every abolitionist, according to his conscience.

The woman question was the ostensible cause of the division which resulted in the formation of a nominal American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the retirement of the old Executive Committee into the ranks of the opposition. It had grown out of the public anti-slavery lecturing of the sisters Grimké (natives of South Carolina) in New England, at first to females, and afterwards to mixed audiences. The clerical and sectarian opposition to this (as it seemed) shocking procedure was revived by the lecturing, in like manner, of Miss Abby Kelley, of Massachusetts ; and it was her nomination to a committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in session at New York, in May, 1840, which determined the secession, and left the Garrisonians the masters of the situation.

In the meantime a World's Convention had been called in London, by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and both wings of the abolitionists sent over delegates. Mr. Garrison was one from the old organization, and with him were appointed Lucretia Mott and several other women delegates. The managers had been coached by the seceders on this side, and were more than ready (under sectarian influence) to refuse the admission of women to seats in the Convention. Mr. Garrison, whose voyage was belated, found them, in fact, excluded on his arrival out, in June, 1840, and he refused, himself, to take a seat while his co-delegates were shut out. He accordingly sat in the gallery, and rejected all overtures to take a place on the floor or to address the Convention.

Already, before his departure for England, the seceders, in default of capturing and converting the existing anti-slavery machinery, which Mr. Garrison had strenuously resisted, had formed an anti-slavery political organization, the so-called Liberty party. Their nominee for president was James G. Birney, lately Corresponding Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, before the schism; and their doctrine was, that no one should remain in the abolition ranks who did not go to the polls and vote. This had the awkwardness of applying to the original abolitionist himself, whose influence was especially deprecated by the seceders, because he had openly embraced the doctrine of non-resistance for himself, though he did not impose or seek to impose it as an anti-slavery test. He had, in September, 1838, founded, in Boston, the Non-Resistance Society, with the aid of Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, and others, and composed the Declaration of Sentiments: —

"We register our testimony," it said, "not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

"As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We there-

fore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If *we* cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

"It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore anything which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment. . . .

"We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears God nor regards man. *We* would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the requirements of Government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience."

"It appears to us a self-evident truth," continued the same document, "that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought *now* to be abandoned." This was the key-note of Mr. Garrison's conduct of life, so far as the individual was concerned. If slavery was sinful, the duty of the slaveholder to let his victim go free was instant and immediate, not remote; the duty of his accomplice not otherwise. If the fulfilment of Christianity was to be peace on earth and good-will to man, Christians had no excuse for prolonging for a single hour the reign of violence. The law of Christianity was for Mr. Garrison the law of suffering, and this seemed to him one of the plainest teachings of the New Testament. Those who

held with him to this Bible doctrine were a mere handful, — not, as might have been expected, the whole Quaker denomination; not a large portion of the abolitionists. Of the majority the lives might be as blameless as his, but they hesitated to follow out the doctrine to its consequences as indicated in the passages quoted above. They hesitated to become "no-government" men, as the non-resistants were called because they were content to suffer, and neither to rule by force nor to punish their fellow-men. Down to 1840 a very small number of abolitionists who, in the sectarian division, adhered to the old organization, abstained from voting in view of the fact that the United States Government rested upon an army and navy, on penal codes, jails, and gallowses.

Soon after this date, however, it became clear to Mr. Garrison that there was no hope of abolishing slavery under the Constitution and the Union as they had been formed in 1787. As early as March, 1840, he had announced the "irrepressible conflict" in these terms, — "that Freedom and Slavery are natural and irreconcilable enemies; that it is morally impossible for them to endure together in the same nation; and that the existence of the one can only be secured by the destruction of the other." The South was in the habit of threatening to dissolve the Union whenever her "peculiar institution" was challenged, or her plans for its extension resisted. Mr. Garrison proposed the same measure as the only way in which the North could protect its own liberties, and rid itself of its responsibility for slavery. His cry henceforth became "No Union with Slaveholders!" and in 1844 he succeeded in bringing over the whole body of abolitionists, strictly

so called, to this standard. Thenceforth none of them would either vote or hold office, or take, or permit any one to take for them, the oath of allegiance to a Constitution which recognized and supported slavery in the States. This was the last evidence of that disinterestedness which Mr. Garrison refused to forfeit by joining an anti-slavery political party. It was to the slave power a declaration of war to extremities, and it brought down on the abolitionists the charge of treason as well as of "incendiarism."

Mr. Garrison's history for the next twenty years is that of unflinching adhesion to this line of assault, which many Northern statesmen were ready to justify in case Texas should be annexed — as it was; and which the Mexican war, the Compromise of 1850 and new Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, all assisted, by making clear to every one the irresistible control of the Government by the slave-system entrenched in the Constitution. The civil war, precipitated by John Brown and the election of Abraham Lincoln, ended in the destruction of the Constitution and the Union as they had been, and in the preservation of a Constitution and a Union with which Mr. Garrison (as an abolitionist) had no quarrel. He promptly espoused the cause of the North on the outbreak of secession, never doubting the constitutional right of the Federal Government to make its authority respected over all the country against any armed rebellion whatsoever. He never despaired of the issue of the conflict being the downfall of slavery, and the Government gave him the crowning delight of his life when it invited him (with his

friend, George Thompson) to attend the raising of the national flag over Sumter on the fourth anniversary of the capture of that fort. He received at Charleston the most touching manifestations of gratitude from the colored people, who loaded him with flowers. Before he reached home Lincoln had been assassinated.

The *Liberator*, in spite of its precarious support, had survived to the very end of slavery in America. In December, 1865, the last number of the thirty-fifth volume was published, and Mr. Garrison's occupation as an abolitionist was gone. He had already, in May, withdrawn from the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which he had been president for more than twenty years, though some of his colleagues thought this action premature, and endeavored to prolong the organization and the agitation. Mr. Garrison had no desire to continue a rôle which had lost its meaning. Slavery was dead beyond recovery, and there was no longer need of abolition societies. The freedmen, however, claimed his warmest sympathy. He was made an officer of local and national freedmen's aid societies, and, both as a lecturer and a writer for the press, he unceasingly entreated justice and charitable help for the blacks. He thus alleviated, as far as he could, the change in their condition, brought about, not as he would have had it, peacefully and with careful safeguards of education, but violently and with unprepared enfranchisement.

Other causes, too, received his attention and active assistance, as they had always done, — the woman's rights agitation before all. From defending the equal right of women in philanthropy, he early grew to acknowledge it

in citizenship. He recognized no division of human interests between them and men, no natural power of one sex over the other, no incapacity in either for perfectibility. Hence he wished to see women admitted to all callings and all professions to which they applied for entrance, and to the full responsibilities and privileges of citizenship. His action in their behalf, at the World's Convention in 1840, is generally regarded as the prime landmark in the woman's rights agitation, which in the next decade assumed a definite form, and continues to this day.

Mr. Garrison had crossed the ocean, on a third anti-slavery mission, in 1846. A fourth was made in 1867, as delegate of the American Freedmen's Commission to the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference. On the way to that capital he gladdened his numerous friends in England by revisiting them, no longer as the leader of an almost hopeless cause, but as a retired reformer, well satisfied to have ceased from his labors, of which he had lived to see the astonishing triumph. He appeared, too, not as the representative of a party, but, as the Duke of Argyll said (at a public breakfast given in London to Mr. Garrison), in a national and even international capacity: "Freedom is now the policy of the Government and the assured policy of the country, and we can to-day accept and welcome Mr. Garrison, not merely as the liberator of the slaves, but as the representative, also, of the American Government." This idea was repeated and emphasized on the same occasion by Earl Russell, who improved the opportunity to make open amends to the United States for his attitude during the Rebellion, by which the *Alabama* was allowed to leave British ports to prey upon

American commerce. "Let us hope," he said, "that the friendship of the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may endure unbroken, and that Mr. Garrison may carry with him, amongst other gratifications, this reflection, that our meeting here to-day has tended to the better union of two races who ought never to be separated." John Bright, who presided at the breakfast, referring to the late civil war, asked: —

> May we not say, reviewing what has taken place, — and I have only glanced in the briefest possible way at the chief aspects of this great question, — that probably history has no sadder, and yet, if we take a different view, I may say, also, probably no brighter page. To Mr. Garrison more than to any other man this is due: his is the creation of that opinion which has made slavery hateful, and which has made freedom possible in America. His name is venerated in his own country, — venerated where not long ago it was a name of obloquy and reproach. His name is venerated in this country and in Europe wheresoever Christianity softens the hearts and lessens the sorrows of men; and I venture to say that in time to come, near or remote I know not, his name will become the herald and the synonym of good to millions of men who will dwell on the now almost unknown continent of Africa.

Finally, John Stuart Mill pointed out two lessons from Mr. Garrison's career: —

> The first lesson is: Aim at something great; aim at things which are difficult (and there is no great thing which is not difficult). Do not pare down your undertaking to what you can hope to see successful in the next few years, or in the years of your own life. . . .
>
> The other lesson which it appears to me important to enforce, amongst the many that may be drawn from our friend's life, is this: If you aim at something noble, and succeed in it, you will generally find that you have succeeded not in that alone. A hundred other good and

noble things which you never dreamed of will have been accomplished by the way, and the more certainly, the sharper and more agonizing has been the struggle which preceded the victory. The heart and mind of a nation are never stirred from their foundation without manifold good fruits. In the case of the great American contest these fruits have been already great, and are daily becoming greater. The prejudices which beset every form of society — and of which there was a plentiful crop in America — are rapidly melting away. The chains of prescription have been broken; it is not only the slave who has been freed, — the mind of America has been emancipated. The whole intellect of the country has been set thinking about the fundamental questions of society and government; and the new problems which have to be solved, and the new difficulties which have to be encountered, are calling forth new activity of thought, and that great nation is saved, probably for a long time to come, from the most formidable danger of a completely settled state of society and opinion, — intellectual and moral stagnation. This, then, is an additional item of the debt which America and mankind owe to Mr. Garrison and his noble associates; and it is well calculated to deepen our sense of the truth which his whole career most strikingly illustrates, — that though our best-directed efforts may often seem wasted and lost, nothing coming of them that can be pointed to and distinctly identified as a definite gain to humanity; though this may happen ninety-nine times in every hundred, the hundredth time the result may be so great and dazzling that we had never dared to hope for it, and should have regarded him who had predicted it to us as sanguine beyond the bounds of mental sanity. So has it been with Mr. Garrison.

These marks of approval from the most enlightened and eminent Englishmen — to which we must add the freedom of the city of Edinburgh bestowed on Mr. Garrison — should not outweigh the testimony to his character furnished by his immediate friendships at home. Not to go beyond the limits of Boston, to have drawn to himself such men and women as Samuel

E. Sewall, Ellis Gray and Louisa Loring, Francis Jackson, Charles and Eliza Lee Follen, David Lee and Lydia Maria Child, Wendell and Ann Greene Phillips, Henry Grafton and Maria Weston Chapman, the Misses Weston, Samuel J. May, Samuel and Mary May, Samuel May, Jr., Edmund Quincy, Henry I. and William I. Bowditch, Samuel and Eliza Philbrick, Joseph and Thankful Southwick, Charles F. Hovey, Theodore Parker, — to have led all these to share his labors and the common odium of a most unpopular cause; to have maintained the respect and affection of all, is itself a monument to his sterling worth. But for the constant pecuniary assistance of this group, neither the cause nor its leader could have been upheld in the fearful struggle. When Mr. Garrison terminated the publication of the *Liberator* he was rich only in the reward of a good conscience; and, having put aside his sole means of gaining a livelihood, his condition was, in his advanced years, a matter of serious concern, especially as his wife had been crippled by paralysis. At this juncture a national testimonial to Mr. Garrison was undertaken by a committee, of which ex-Governor Andrew was chairman, and the Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, secretary. "The generation," said the address to the public, penned by Mr. Andrew, "which immediately preceded ours regarded him only as a wild enthusiast, a fanatic, or a public enemy. The present generation sees in him the bold and honest reformer, the man of original, self-poised, heroic will, inspired by a vision of universal justice, made actual in the practice of nations; who, daring to at-

tack without reserve the worst and most powerful oppression of his country and his time, has outlived the Giant Wrong he assailed, and has triumphed over the sophistries by which it was maintained." The committee, therefore, invited contributions from "all people who rejoice in the destruction of Slavery, in the re-establishment of the Union on the basis of Universal Freedom, who appreciate his past service in the cause of Liberty, and the dignity and judgment with which he has accepted and interpreted the more recent events of public history." The fund thus raised was sufficient to keep Mr. Garrison in comfortable circumstances for the remainder of his life. He passed his days, not in indolence, but in lively contact with public affairs, writing incessantly for the press, and frequently speaking in public.

In 1876 Mrs. Garrison was taken from him, after a union marked by the deepest and truest affection, fidelity, sympathy, and coöperation in all benevolent works. In the following year he made a final visit to England, where his social experience was, if possible, more delightful than ever before. His infirmities, however, had already made serious inroads on his bodily strength, and on May 24, 1879, while temporarily at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Henry Villard, in New York city, he breathed his last, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.[1]

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[1] The funeral services were held in the afternoon of May 28, at the church of the First Religious Society, near his home in Roxbury. A great throng was in attendance. The pall-bearers were Wendell Phillips, Samuel May, Samuel E. Sewall, Robert F. Wallcut, Theodore D. Weld, Oliver Johnson, Lewis Hay-

So passed away a man whose life was a high exemplification of disinterested and untiring benevolence, both in public and in private; whose conduct as a citizen was beyond reproach, whose moral behavior under all circumstances was flawless; who abhorred injustice and loathed violence; who never wished evil to any man; who had no enemy that he could not and did not forgive; whose sympathies were all-embracing, and predisposed him to favor every movement for the amelioration of mankind; who was stern and inflexible in the application of principle, but habitually modest, genial, kindly to the last degree in his personal intercourse with others; of extreme sociability, of transparent ingenuousness, devoid of vanity or the smallest trace of self-seeking; as amenable to counsel as he was prompt in initiative; inexhaustible in hopefulness and patience, undiscourageable, possessed (as John Bright said) of "an unfaltering faith that that which is right will in the end succeed." The reputation which for thirty years he bore among his countrymen at large was so opposed to this reality that posterity will with difficulty explain the paradox. Theological odium was responsible for a large part of it, even at a time when Mr. Garrison's views were not different from those which are honored or forgiven in the great leaders of the Protestant Reformation. His pious mother, to whom he owed his deeply religious nature and the springs of that moral earnestness which

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den, and Charles L. Mitchell. The religious exercises were conducted by the Rev. Samuel May, and feeling remarks were made by this stanch friend of Mr. Garrison, and by Mrs. Lucy Stone, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, Theodore D. Weld, and Wendell Phillips. A poem, written for the occasion by J. G. Whittier, was also read. At sunset the body was interred beside that of Mrs. Garrison, on Smilax Path, in the cemetery at Forest Hills.

determined his philanthropic career, had brought him up a rigid Baptist, yet could not make him a sectarian. In the Bible which she placed in his hands he found an all-sufficient weapon against every form of iniquity. It was an armory upon which he drew as freely as if he had been a clergyman, and with a familiarity more than professional. His most tremendous invectives against war, slavery, intemperance, were apt to be couched in Scriptural phraseology. And still he passed for an "infidel."

The truth was, that, as he went on, his views of the supernatural origin and sanction of the Bible did undergo a change. In this, as in other matters, his experience was like that of thousands of his coadjutors,— his efforts to liberate the slave ended in enlarging his own spirit. This change with him, so far as the inspiration of the Bible was concerned, was extremely slow, and did not begin until long after his enemies had adjudged him a hopeless and degraded infidel. Instead of its causing him to reject the Bible as his daily companion and firmest ally, he used it all the more, with fresh insight into its meaning, and fresh delight in its spiritual power.

Whatever time may have done at this date for his religious rehabilitation, his patriotism is now admitted on all hands. That which prevailed when he came upon the scene was class patriotism, not democratic patriotism. To prate of country, and to be insensible to the wrongs of the humblest of one's countrymen, was not his patriotism, which rather began with the down-trodden, deeming (in Francis Jackson's fine language) "that Whiggism hypocritical, and that Democracy contemptibly spurious, which profess to find danger to liberty in a Bank or a Sub-

Treasury, while their fellow-man is perishing in the chains that one blow would strike from his limbs." He was the first to "make a common rally" in the slave's behalf under the banner of immediate and unconditional emancipation. He was the first to address on terms of equal brotherhood the class next above the slaves in public contempt and legal disability,— the free blacks. He entreated the South to save itself from the daily demoralization of its organized cruelty, from the peril of bloody outbreaks as time went on; he besought the North to refuse all partnership in the monstrous crime against humanity. "I am," he said, "earnest for the repeal of the Union between the North and the South, whether I contemplate the subject on the ground of patriotism or in the light of Christianity." He pleaded for a real, not a paper, Union; for homogeneous, not discordant, institutions; for a Constitution free from the shocking and baneful inconsistency of a Government, ostensibly established for the maintenance of equality before the law, recognizing and sustaining with army and navy the chattel bondage of one-sixth part of the population. He held the end more sacred than the means, and could not worship an instrument or a confederacy which flourished in defiance of the Declaration of Independence. From that Declaration he virtually derived his motto, "My Country is the World, My Countrymen are all Mankind,"— a sentiment not inconsistent with the narrower patriotism which endears to every citizen the country of his birth. A thousand times was Mr. Garrison's attachment intensified when the Declaration and the Constitution — the real and the paper Union — were brought into harmony by the abolition of slavery; and in his own eyes

he never did a more patriotic act than when he denounced that Congressional legislation against the Chinese which is now upon the statute-book. This was his last public writing.

Mr. Garrison's own judgment of himself may fitly close this sketch: —

"The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes one of transcendent importance and is crowned with victory, is always ill-judged and unfairly estimated. At the outset he is looked upon with contempt, and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears the goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse. The praise, on the one hand, and the defamation on the other, are, equally unmerited. In the clear light of Reason, it will be seen that he simply stood up to discharge a duty which he owed to his God, to his fellow-men, to the land of his nativity."